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FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION  
OF THE  
**FARMER-LABOR PARTY**  
OF ILLINOIS

HELD AT  
DECATUR, ILLINOIS  
September 8 and 9, 1923



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GIFFORD ERNEST, Secretary

Headquarters: 166 West Washington Street  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



# FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF ILLINOIS

## FIRST DAY—Morning Session

Decatur, Ill., Sept. 8, 1923

The Fifth Annual Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois was called to order at ten o'clock a. m., in Moose Hall, Decatur, on the above date, Frank A. Leven, State Chairman, presiding.

**Credentials Committee:** The Chair appointed the following Committee on Credentials:

Thos. G. McCabe, Batavia, Chairman  
George A. Irwin, Evanston  
J. J. McGuinn, Eldorado  
Julia Lordan, Centralia  
Harry E. Scheck, Chicago  
John H. Walker, Springfield  
Herb. Halls, Danville

### ADDRESSES OF WELCOME

Elmer R. Elder, Mayor of Decatur, delivered the address of welcome in behalf of the city. The following is an excerpt from his speech:

I am glad to extend a welcome to conventions which meet here to centralize the convictions of men upon political (in the broader sense) and governmental questions and problems.

Decatur is closely associated with farm and labor interests and any measure designed to give to these two great classes of our population all that is rightfully theirs or improve their business and living conditions, should meet with the approval of all good citizens.

Your party may do much to command the respect so essential to the accomplishment of the laudable purpose of helping to make this Government a Government of equal representation and of equal rights and privileges. When that is accomplished, your problems will have met their solution; and beyond that, neither your party nor any other party can hope to venture and endure.

Decatur, therefore, extends her welcome in the firm confidence that what you say and do here will always be intended for the betterment of the conditions of mankind and the welfare of all elements of this great nation.

James A. Henson, former State Senator, Attorney for the Central Body of Decatur, and a member of the Bricklayers' Union, was then introduced by the Chairman and delivered an address of welcome on behalf of Organized Labor of Decatur. In part he said:

I couldn't say that you are welcome in Decatur. \* \* \* You are welcome in Decatur to the man or the woman or the human being who has a perspective of mind such as yourselves regarding the human family. To the Association of Commerce, you know you are not welcome; and to other organized business which adopts an arbitrary policy of governing the human family, and usurp the function of government, you certainly are not welcome. Those people who live in this community who think as every individual should think, and believe

in a democracy, certainly invite you to Decatur to remain, and you are perfectly welcome. So my address of welcome will be limited to the kinds of people who will give you the liberty to think. The liberties which we formerly had have been abridged and denied. To the injunction judges and such others, you are not welcome here. You are a despicable element to them, and they would prefer that you did not meet here. To the men and women who believe in law and order, to the man who believes in enforcement of the law, irrespective of social status or social standing, you are welcome.

I might say to you that one thing struck me while looking at you, and I have addressed a great many men and women in my time and have had an opportunity to observe. You don't show the overfeeding that some bodies that I have addressed, show. But when I look into the faces of this type of citizenship it rather makes me feel glad that I have an opportunity of commingling with you—you are not so handsome, you are not so overly dressed, but you look serious and I think that you are honest, and I hope that you have no ulterior motive in your mind with reference to any organization of the human family. You do not show, as men in other conventions which I have attended, that lurking, nervous, twitching eye of the delegates for the opportunity to expound or orate upon the floor, to carry through some idea that had in it an ultimate charge of dynamite that would blow everybody else off the map, for them to obtain their selfish ends. I don't seem to see that in the faces of the meeting here.

Another pleasing think that struck me was that you are meeting in convention with men who want to organize for better conditions for the men on the farm, in the factory and workshop. \* \* \*

I am not a member of the Farmer-Labor Party. I am one of those fighting, fault-finding, truth-saying Republicans. That don't mean that the Republican Party owns me. \* \* \* But I know they are wrong. They are making a lot of mistakes, and they are no better nor any worse than the Democratic Party. I don't think either one is doing anything for the human family. \* \* \* And I am disgusted with them and they are disgusted with themselves, excepting the office holders. So it is necessary that some new party come up.

And then the great economic problem arises. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party have been so wise in interpreting the constitution that they have denied to some people the right to live; they have misinterpreted and contorted the law until the employers can enjoin any one of you men but you can't enjoin them. And in welcoming you here, while there are not so many delegates and you are a new party, I want you to know that I believe that in this community, in Lincoln County, and in the other counties, there are thousands of farmers who now know they have been fooled and lied to by somebody, and there are thousands of men in the factory and shop who know that they are being fooled every day, and they are helpless about it. And if you can build a nucleus around which other men can go out to the polls and vote for better conditions, your party will succeed.

You come here because, from all of your studies and thoughts, you see the unequal application of the law in America, you see



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the unequal application of the taxes. For instance, I just read in the paper this morning that this great light and power company of Decatur only paid taxes on an estimated value of \$7,500.00. I am paying more taxes than that myself, and I am not wealthy. \* \* \* You need some new party for that, because they have got the State's Attorney, and the Attorney General, and they have the judges of the court and the board of review, and the tax assessors. There is an unequal application of the law, in the principle of taxation. There is an unequal application of injunctions. \* \* \* That is what makes people think. It isn't fair. You are trying to alleviate the conditions, and I say to you that I think there are millions of people in America who feel the same way. My idea is that by an orderly, legally constituted process in politics we can change America's policy so that the human right will remain for all time and be established higher than the dollar mark in America—we can have a party that will be the very symbol of democracy in America.

### RESPONSE AND ADDRESS BY CHAIRMAN LEVEN

Chairman Leven responded to these addresses. He said:

We know that we have made progress in this state, and we know that we are making progress today. We can recall the big proposition that came before our convention in Rockford last year was the question of the defeat of the new constitution as proposed at that time for the State of Illinois. Through that convention last year we appealed to our people to get on the job and defeat that proposed constitution, and we know without a question of a doubt that to a great extent we were responsible for the overwhelming defeat that was administered to it. At the same time we recognize and give due credit to the various other movements which assisted in bringing about this defeat.

That is only one of the methods by which we have shown that in the State of Illinois we are making progress politically. We know that at this time a sentiment for independent political action on the part of the producing class exists as it never existed before in this state. We know that wherever we go, whether it be to the workers on the farms or the workers in the city, we find they are willing and eager to join in a movement that will bring about a political organization representing the views of the farm and city workers—the producing class of the state. It is only because we have been handicapped by lack of funds that we haven't been able to make a greater showing. Our people don't seem to have realized yet that it takes money to organize a state like this. \* \* \*

But I am satisfied that if the enthusiasm that is displayed in this convention today continues after the convention adjourns, the action taken at this meeting will renew the determination of the active men and women throughout the state to bring about a work-

ing class political party at the earliest possible time.

I believe that at this time the Farmer-Labor Party occupies a position in this state and in many other states that it has never occupied before. We find that we receive more favorable advances from those who up to this time have steered clear of the party. We find that the name "Farmer-Labor" takes hold of any audience which we might speak to. It is something they immediately become interested in.

We find that even the parties that the bosses control, especially the Republican Party, in this state, in order to keep their control over the state offices, are attempting to steal practically everything that the Farmer-Labor Party has in its program and platform. And it again becomes our duty to remind the people in the State of Illinois that it is only another case of being fooled if they follow those advances. They have practically adopted and now stand on a platform that is like the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party—they have taken everything but the name (and that name is now placed in a position where it can't be stolen). But outside of that, the Republican Party today, when going out before the producing class, attempts to claim that they stand for the same thing that the working class political party has stood for ever since it was organized. I don't think our people will be led into following a program of that kind. \* \* \* I think that we have learned from past experience that the promises and campaign pledges of the old parties amount to little, and the only thing we can do in this convention is to plan to keep on building, in order that at a not far distant date we will be able to come out as a real political party in the State of Illinois. In my opinion, it is the only solution for the Farmer-Labor Party. We haven't time to bother with the politicians and opposing political parties—we have a program set for us which I am satisfied will be renewed in this convention. And I am satisfied that this convention will unanimously vote to go through with that program until we finally get to the place which we intended to reach when we first organized the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois.

We have had during the last year a national conference of the political parties of the working class, so-called, and the outcome of that convention is one of the things that I believe is responsible for the increased prestige of the Farmer-Labor Party at the present time. At that conference the Farmer-Labor Party again defied the attempts that were made to swing it from the path it has always followed—the path of evolution rather than revolution.

A motion was made and unanimously carried to give a rising vote of thanks of the convention to Mr. Henson and to extend to him a mark of appreciation and an invitation to become a member of the Farmer-Labor Party, where he rightfully belongs. An amendment was offered that we include Mayor Elder, which was accepted as part of the original motion.

## CALL

The call for the Convention was read by Secretary Ernest, as follows:

CALL FOR FIFTH CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF ILLINOIS AT DECATUR, ILLINOIS, (MOOS HALL), SEPTEMBER 8 and 9, 1923.

Greetings:

The Fifth State Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois will convene at Decatur at a time when the producers have good reasons for encouragement. The widespread growth of co-operation of wage workers and farmers in every field of activity where economic and political interests are involved is manifest. The success attending the FARMER-LABOR MOVEMENT is phenomenal, and OUR PARTY HAS A RECORD FOR HONESTY WITH THE UNION MOVEMENT AND THE PROMISE OF A GREAT FUTURE.

The Farmer-Labor Party is the only workers' political party in Illinois which admits the unions into affiliation with it and takes no part in questions which belong distinctly

to the unions, and seeks no control of organized labor. Nor does it attempt in any way to dictate its policies and choose its leaders. The Farmer-Labor Party is an American political movement with which labor can function on the political field without fear of having the party meddle in its union affairs. It has no connection with any national or international movement which would make it impractical or unwise for labor to function with it. Labor organizations are invited to send delegates to its conventions and conferences who are in accord with the purposes and policy of the Party.

Practically all economic issues have their political reflections. The economic conditions resulting from the control of industry



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and government by organized capital have resulted in such political victories by the producers as the election of SENATOR FRAZIER (Nonpartisan League, North Dakota); SENATOR SHIPSTEAD (Farmer-Labor Party, Minn.); GOVERNOR Walton (Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League, Okla.); and, last week, SENATOR MAGNUS JOHNSON (Farmer-Labor Party, Minn.). In Illinois, to the State Federation of Labor belongs the credit for defeating last fall the proposed new state constitution. These victories illustrate what can and is being done by united independent political action by farmers and wage workers. The abuse of capital's economic power is made intolerable by capital's control of the government. Lately the sweeping injunction against the railroad shopcrafts has been made permanent, and this challenges the intelligence and spirit of the hosts of organized labor. MINNESOTA, NORTH DAKOTA, OKLAHOMA, HAVE ANSWERED THIS CHALLENGE! HOW WILL ILLINOIS ANSWER? THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE GIVEN BACK TO THOSE WHO SHOULD POSSESS IT—THE PEOPLE!

When electing delegates to the State Federation of Labor convention, CREDENTIAL THEM TO REPRESENT YOUR ORGANIZATION AT THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY CONVENTION, and thus save the expense of sending additional delegates. The basis of representation is as follows: Each county and local Farmer-Labor Party organization—One Delegate and one additional delegate for each 100 members or fraction thereof. Each local union, district council, central body, co-operative society and farmer organization—One delegate and one additional delegate for each 250 members or fraction thereof.

Your organization is requested to send \$5.00 as early as possible to the state office for each delegate, to defray the expenses of the convention. While this is only a request, **your compliance this year is earnestly urged** on account of the necessity for funds with which to carry on the increasing Party activities.

Everything possible will be done to work in co-operation with the organized labor, farmer and co-operative movements of the state. **DON'T FAIL TO HAVE YOUR ORGANIZATION REPRESENTED AT THE DECATUR CONVENTION!**

FRANK A. LEVEN, Danville,  
Chairman.  
GIFFORD ERNEST, Sec.-Treas.

Headquarters: 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Motion made and carried that the call be adopted as read and recorded in the minutes.

The chair appointed Delegate Ben F. Ferris as Sergeant-at-Arms of the convention. Brother Ferris, on account of his recent illness, declined. The chair then appointed Charles F. Wills.

### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

The chair announced the appointment of the following committees:

**Committee On Constitution:** Theodore Bissler, Quincy; Dr. H. L. Green, Quincy; Gertrude Fitzgerald, Chicago; Lewis Wade, Danville; Miss Emma Wienecke, Rockford.

**Committee On Rules and Order:** James W. Short, East St. Louis; Anthony Koselke,

Lansing; Thos. Polston, Chicago; Charles F. Redman, Chicago; Josephine M. Lovreglio, Chicago.

**Committee On Organization:** Robert Wilson, Centralia; Madge Argo, Joliet; Wm. Tracy, Lansing; James M. Cahill, Chicago; Thomas Cameron, Belleville; S. D. Wham, Cartter; E. Menard, Chicago.

**Committee On Resolutions:** Wm. A. Lewis, Rockford; A. D. Sullens, Benton; Jay G. Brown, Chicago; Bert Gray, Collinsville; Dan Lamothe, Blue Island; Wm. E. Rodriguez, Chicago; Ruby H. Ernest, Chicago.

**Committee On Finance:** David A. McVey, Chicago; I. L. Truax, Westville; Wm. E. Coltrin, Centralia; Dora Nordboe, Chicago; Charles F. Wills, Chicago; J. E. Gill, Danville; Ardell Patterson, Murphysboro.

**Committee On Election:** Charles Hayman, Chicago; Mrs. P. J. Carlson, Rock Island; H. A. Cox, Benton; T. J. Curry, Chicago; Jennie W. Buck, Chicago.

**Committee On Officers' Reports:** McElroy Trout, Johnston City; H. W. Olinger, Odin; Robert M. Buck, Chicago; Adelaide Bieser, Centralia; John G. Clay, Chicago; John F. Leheney, Chicago; George W. Whitehead, Chicago.

Motion made and carried that the appointments be concurred in.

Secretary Ernest advised that he had heard from two members of the State Executive Committee—John E. Fenwick, of Mount Olive, and J. T. Lloyd, of Coulterville, expressing regret at their inability to be present at the convention and also their best wishes for its success.

The chair then announced that the following committee had been appointed as a Reception Committee for Senator Shipstead and to make arrangements for the meeting:

Frank A. Leven, Danville, Chairman; Wm. E. Rodriguez, Chicago; John Fitzpatrick, Chicago; John H. Walker, Springfield; Madge Argo, Joliet; E. N. Nockels, Chicago; Marian Fuller, Chicago; A. D. Sullens, Benton; Robert M. Buck, Chicago; Dora Nordboe, Chicago; D. A. McVey, Chicago; Ruby H. Ernest, Chicago; Arthur Olson, Chicago; Glenn Campbell, Chicago; Sam Finkel, Chicago; Wm. E. Coltrin, Centralia; Thomas Cameron, Belleville; J. J. McGuinn, Eldorado; Mrs. P. J. Carlson, Rock Island; Ed McChrystal, Gillespie; Julia Lordan, Centralia; John F. Leheney, Chicago; Martha Wollenschlager, Chicago; James Cahill, Chicago; H. C. Dorneman, Bloomington; R. G. Williams, Decatur.

Motion made and carried that the appointment of this committee be confirmed.

Delegate Leheney moved that the convention recess for thirty minutes, to give the Credentials Committee an opportunity to report. Carried.

Upon reconvening, Delegate Irwin made a partial report for the Credentials Committee. Motion made and carried that it be accepted as progress and that the delegates be seated. (Full report of committee will be inserted later.)

Motion made and carried that we stand adjourned until 1:30 o'clock p. m.

## FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session

Chairman Leven called the meeting to order, and the Credentials Committee presented its final report. Motion made and carried that the report be received and the delegates seated. The complete report of the committee follows:

### BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS

District Council No. 1, Cook County and vicinity—Wm. Roulo, Wm. Tracy, John H. Walker.

District Council No. 2 (Central and Southern Illinois)—N. J. Rogers, Streator.

Local No. 1, Chicago—James McGraham, Oscar Erhardt.

Local No. 2, Lansing—Anthony H. Koselke, John Reed, Charles H. Lange and Barney Caserio.

Local No. 3, Blue Island—Dan Lamonthe, A. Beedy, T. Cunningham and Wm. Revor.

Local No. 49, Chicago—Geo. A. Irwin.

Local No. 116, Danville—Cloyd H. George, Harry Hartman, Lewis Wade and Leo George.

Local No. 214, Manteno—Walter Renwick.



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Local No. 261, Roanoke—John Bacquet, Jr.  
Local No. 321, St. Elmo—John H. Peterson.

## BUILDING TRADES

Aurora—P. J. Hickey.

## CARPENTERS

Local No. 183, Peoria—V. W. Storry.  
Local No. 360, Galesburg—Chas. Benson.  
Local No. 644, Pekin—A. B. Shacklette.  
Local No. 742, Decatur—Joe Custing.  
Local No. 792, Rockford—Wm. A. Lewis.  
Local No. 1367, Chicago—Frank H. Kuchenbecker, Brother Kmilek.

## CENTRAL BODIES

Belleville Trades Council—W. T. Christopher.  
Benton Trades Council—Henry A. Cox.  
Bloomington Trades and Labor Assembly—H. C. Dornemann.  
Centralia Trades and Labor Assembly—Julia Lordan, Wm. E. Coltrin.  
Chicago Federation of Labor—W. S. Deuel, Geo. H. Plowright, Arthur Olsen and J. J. Uhlmann.  
Collinsville Trades Council—Bert Gray.  
Danville Trades and Labor Council—Frank A. Levin, John E. Gill, R. R. Barger.  
Herrin Trades Council—G. W. Piatt, J. W. Ford.  
Joliet Trades and Labor Council—Mrs. Madge Argo.  
Lake County Central Labor Union, Waukegan—P. W. Slack.  
La Salle Trades Council—Chas. Bennett.  
Quincy Trades and Labor Assembly—Theodore Bisser.  
Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly—Harry A. Wickert.  
Rockford Central Labor Union—Art. C. Johnson.  
Springfield Federation of Labor—John F. Gaffigan.  
Westville Central Labor Union—Herbert Halls.

## FARMER-LABOR PARTY BRANCHES

Adams County Branch, Quincy—Dr. H. L. Green.  
Marion County Branch, Sandoval—S. D. Wham, Cartter; H. W. Olinger, Odin.  
Rock Island Branch—Mrs. P. J. Carlson.  
Staunton Branch—John H. Sturm.  
Cook County Branch, Chicago—Glenn Campbell, Robert M. Buck, Dora Nordboe.

## CHICAGO

1st Ward—Tim Spain  
4th Ward—E. N. Nockels  
5th Ward—Lewis P. Hill  
6th Ward—J. G. Brown  
8th Ward—Gifford Ernest  
9th Ward—George W. Whitehead  
12th Ward—Thos. J. Curry  
15th Ward—Hattie Hayman  
19th Ward—E. F. Cook  
20th Ward—John F. Leheney  
21st Ward—David Bosgraaf  
22nd Ward—Ruby H. Ernest  
23rd Ward—Harry E. Scheck  
26th Ward—Marian Fuller  
28th Ward—Josephine M. Lovreglio  
29th Ward—Adrian Vanderpoel  
30th Ward—Charles Hayman  
31st Ward—Eulalia Burke  
34th Ward—Martha Wollenschlager  
36th Ward—Edward McChrystal  
37th Ward—Jennie W. Buck  
39th Ward—Mabel McVey  
40th Ward—Sam Finkel

## ENVELOPE MAKERS

Local No. 16073, Centralia—Adelaide Bieser.

## FOUNDRY EMPLOYES

Local No. 38, Belleville—Paul Schwesig.  
Local No. 7, Belleville—Thomas Cameron, Henry Dawson.

## GARMENT WORKERS

Local No. 64, Rockford—Miss Emma Wiennecke.

## LATHERS

Local No. 74, Chicago—David McVey, Edward Menard, Ben F. Ferris.

## MACHINISTS

Lodge No. 134, Chicago—Chas. F. Wills.

## MINE WORKERS

Local No. 52, Centralia—Forest Devor, Mike Lordan.

Local No. 91, Johnston City—Matt Rosetti.  
Local No. 125, Mount Olive—Curt Truetzschler.

Local No. 264, Collinsville—Philip Kreider.  
Local No. 303, Orient—Robert Gault, J. T. Lucas, Frank Waite, Joe Caumient, Jack Roberts.

Local No. 473, La Salle—Chas. Bennett.  
Local No. 493, Nokomis—Geo. Mehochko.  
Local 517, Tovey—Wm. Gorton, Joe Shears, Harry Roberts.

Local No. 621, Sandoval—Thos. Snodgrass.  
Local No. 685, Collinsville, Robert Bertolero.

Local No. 711, Johnston City—McElroy Trout.

Local No. 715, Odin—Pearl Tadlock.  
Local No. 728, Mt. Olive—Chas. Hagen.  
Local No. 798, Harrisburg—Joe Holden.

Local No. 826, Collinsville—A. A. Mrovka.  
Local No. 1356, Georgetown—Earl Attan.  
Local No. 1397, Centralia—Alex Reese, Sr., Alex Reese, Jr., Robert Wilson.

Local No. 1426, Johnston City—Ed Thome.  
Local No. 1440, Taylor Springs—A. M. Corrazza.

Local No. 1782, Royalton—Perry Powers, George Dilbeck.

Local No. 1795, Herrin—A. A. Avitts.  
Local No. 1865, Eldorado—J. J. McGuinn.

Local No. 1959, Benton—A. D. Sullens.  
Local No. 2219, Gillespie—Sam Stewart, Andrew Easton.

Local No. 2621, Herrin—Frank Owens.  
Local No. 2656, Livingston—Geo. Sakalosky, Robt. Windisch, Jr.

Local No. 2657, West Frankfort—William Winstead, Demsey Ward, L. Freeman, Jr.

Local No. 2679, Hillsboro—Steele Leake.  
Local No. 3160, Sesser—Ross White, D. J. Kelley.

Local No. 3192, Johnston City—J. R. Woods.  
Local No. 3543, Benton—G. R. Price, C. C. Beaty, C. T. Ruemmler.

Local No. 3703, Dowell—Wm. O'Brien, Gilbert Roger.

Local No. 3761, Pana—Fred Eggerman.  
Local No. 4049, South Standard—Owen McWhinnie.

Local No. 4280, West Frankfort—John Zimbelman, Lee America Ezra.

Local No. 4821, Belleville—Jacob Bohlmann.

Local No. 5509, Westville—H. M. Rucker, Ed Hembrey.

## MOLDERS

Local No. 182, Belleville—Ed Wolter, Al Towers.

## PAINTERS

Local No. 180, Chicago—Thos. G. McCabe, Geo. Heb. Geo. Stone, John Graham, Louis Swets, Wm. E. Rodriguez.

Local No. 184, Chicago—H. Rittman, Ed J. Ryan, Chas. F. Redman.

Local No. 194, Chicago—Geo. M. Hanson, Tom Lee, Alfred Rasmussen, C. A. Lund, A. C. Anderson.

Local No. 288, Decatur—Monroe Strohl.  
Local No. 448, Aurora—John N. Wagner, John F. Renner.

Local No. 787, Johnston City—W. F. Pittman.

Local No. 505, Streator—Fred P. Schroeder.

## PRINTING PRESSMEN

Local No. 3, Chicago—Harry McNerney, Jay Horgan, W. Thos. Polston, Scott Mariner, James Cahill.

## RAILWAY CARMEN

Lodge No. 646, East St. Louis—James W. Short.

## RETAIL CLERKS

Local No. 1130, Herrin—Charles Grace.

## TEAMSTERS

Laundry Drivers Local No. 712, Chicago—John G. Clay, Frank A. Theis.

## TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

Local No. 16, Chicago—D. J. Fitzgerald.  
Sam Riley, Peoria—(No organization given)

## FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Central Labor Union, Gary, Ind.—F. H. Detrick.

Farmer-Labor Party of Indiana—Carl Mullen.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Report was made by Delegate Koselke.  
Motion made and carried to adopt report.  
Report follows:



## PROCEEDINGS OF FIFTH STATE CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9 a. m., and remain in session until 12:30 p. m., and convene at 1:30 p. m., and remain in session until 5 p. m., and that a night session be held Saturday night, September 8th, at 7 p. m., and continue until such time as adjourned.

Rule 2. Robert's rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 3. Speeches shall be limited to five minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by majority vote of the convention. No delegate shall speak twice on any one subject until all other delegates who desire have spoken unless given permission by convention. The committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 4. All resolutions to be submitted to the convention shall be in the hands of the Resolutions Committee prior to 5 o'clock p. m., September 8th.

Rule 5. All addresses to the convention that shall be made during its sessions shall be confined in time to not exceed 30 minutes, except by majority vote of the convention.

### SPECIAL ORDER OF BUSINESS

The nominations for election of officers to be made Saturday, September 8th, at 4:30 p. m., and election to take place Sunday, September 9th, at 11 o'clock a. m.

### REGULAR ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Reading minutes of previous session will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of officers.
4. Report of regular committees.
5. Report of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Adjournment.

(Signed)

JAMES W. SHORT, Chairman.

ANTHONY H. KOSELKE, Secretary.

JOSEPHINE MARIE LOVREGGIO.

THOS. POLSTON.

CHAS. F. REDMAN.

The secretary presented the matter of the proceedings of the convention, requesting action by the delegates. Motion made that we have the proceedings printed. Amendment offered that a collection be taken to print the proceedings. Delegates Wills, Leheney, Olinger, Cahill and Olsen spoke on the motion, which, when put, carried unanimously. The chair appointed Delegates Madge Argo, Adelaide Bieser, Eulalia Burke and Ruby Ernest, to take up a collection, which they immediately proceeded to do. (Note: The collection amounted to \$126.92.)

Secretary Ernest then read his report, as follows:

### SECRETARY'S REPORT

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE FIFTH STATE CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY OF ILLINOIS.

Brother Chairman and Delegates:

The Fifth State Convention of the Party convenes at a time when more political eyes are directed Farmer-Laborward, for one purpose and another, than at any time since the inception of the movement. Some look approvingly and hopefully; others doubtfully or inimically. The Party has friendships to cultivate, fears to dispel and antagonisms with which to contend.

Since the National Convention of 1920, when the name of the Labor Party was changed to the Farmer-Labor Party, the two main contributing groups, agricultural and industrial workers, have forced to the front recognition of INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, to secure consideration of their economic needs, in a just, practical and legal

manner. The American people, and more particularly the farmers and industrial workers, turn naturally and instinctively to political action for relief from unnecessary and preventable evils, and even for the solution of their economic problems.

No matter how ineffective political action may have been proved to be heretofore, in securing justice for the producers, the fact remains that our national past has been one of struggle for political freedom, equality and democracy. The struggle to attain political democracy developed a strong faith by and through which other great struggles for freedom would be won. That political democracy constituted a means with which all other ends, including economic freedom and industrial democracy, could be secured is a conviction held by the vast majority of the American people.

Because of this widespread sentiment of American confidence in political action, the economic organization of the American farmers and industrial workers is perhaps made more difficult than otherwise would be the case if they had not become habituated to depend upon the ballot, without having used their franchise discriminatingly.

Disillusionment that progress through political action alone, and without economic organization on the part of the farmers and workers, is a slow process. The development of industry and resultant changes in the economic order, under private ownership of the natural resources and means of production for profit, have brought about a growing realization that POLITICAL DEMOCRACY WITHOUT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY IS AN EMPTY TERM. This recognition is beginning to penetrate the consciousness of our people, and they are demanding industrial concessions from the state.

The collective mind of the producing masses in this country is still for the most part in the mold cast by our forefathers, which, based upon the conception of legal equality for all, would make the state sponsor for and recorder of definite advancements for the common good. The state is accepted as a social instrument. Only a movement to lift to higher levels the national standard of welfare and security will appeal to the American people as a whole. The national conception of justice and fair play must find expression. It will in the Farmer-Labor Party movement or the movement will miss its mark.

A great body of the producers as yet see no relationship between their own economic circumstances and the industrial arrangement of the present system with its state and national control. That the inequalities, disorder and discord result from unsympathetic misrule and mismanagement has not occurred to the people generally.

In a population like ours, where class and caste lines cannot be drawn arbitrarily, and where group proposals and accomplishments reflect themselves for good or evil, in improved conditions for some and lowered standards for others, it is natural to feel that the arbitrament of the state, as the national expression to which the common welfare is committed, be final. So we find a great majority of the people believing that political action is the only means through which changes should be attempted. For this conception, no defense is offered. It is only recognized as one of the outstanding facts in American national life. Many yet feel that the economic ills can be cured through political action alone, expressed through either or both of the old parties. These old parties, instead of condemning the cause of the ills of society, champion the present method of operating as well as owning industry. The old party directors do not recognize our economic disorder as the effect of a deepseated disease in the economic system. They diagnose and treat symptoms, as the allopath school of physicians accuse the homeopath school of doing. They disregard, or discount, the causes from which these spring. With them, the property rights of individuals and corporations rise superior to every human claim and right.

Our science of pathology has advanced, and so also our science of medicine has produced a change in our therapeutics. So in the study of production, consumption and the service related to these two functions of society, we learn that fundamental economic disorders and grievances are inherent in our industrial and political system, as now controlled and operated. We have a veritable plague growing out of the prac-



## PROCEEDINGS OF FIFTH STATE CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

tice of an unethical and uneconomic therapeutics.

"Farmer-Labor" as a name for a political party of producers has overcome the prejudice against its use, both within and without the Party's ranks. It is now a name coveted by practically all progressive political parties, and by the office seekers and fractions of the old parties seeking political capital and prestige through the use of shibboleths, rather than by sincerely advocating those fundamental principles for which the Farmer-Labor Party stands. The name is no longer awkward, if at one time it may have seemed so. Since the campaign of 1920, the name of the Farmer-Labor Party is one with which to conjure.

The Farmer-Labor Party does not propose some new form of government or change of the state structure, so much as it stands for the recognition, as a political party, of the fact that progress must come through the working out of a program which will develop as the producers organize in defense of their interests. The recognition of the economic organizations of the farmers and city workers as the foundation for the structure which a real democracy will build is, in itself, disapproval of the capitalistic state as now managed.

Just what form of government or nature of state the farm and city workers will evolve as they organize their economic power for action in conjunction with their political power (since the workers as citizens are habituated to political action), isn't determined. It is easier, because of the ideology of the workers to secure political action than economic action, even though political action may be less effective. Without greater economic organization on the part of the farmers and wage workers, or producers, resort to political action must be had in order to secure remedial legislation and prevent legislation inimical to labor's economic interests and also secure proper executive and judicial action.

Labor fears politics for the reason that the economic power of labor has been and is menaced always by the political state. There is nothing that endangers progress, industrial and social democracy, as much as the paternalism of the capitalistic or socialistic state. The course that Labor must take politically will be determined by that which experience proves to best secure and conserve labor's economic freedom.

Ideologically, the Farmer-Labor Party is located between standpat nonpartisanship and impossible utopianism. It may, indeed, be to the left of nonpartisanship for progressive political action, but it has not yet moved east to the adoption of a program of dictatorship. Between the two extremes, the right and the left, the producers of America stand almost solidly. They are realizing more and more the necessity for independent political action as a means of grappling with immediate and pressing problems. Standing with them, being with the herd if you prefer it that way, the Farmer-Labor Party is in sympathy with them. We are not of the right nor of the left. Right and left are determined in relation to the average opinion and consciousness, as represented by the Farmer-Labor Party. Reaction is to the right of us and impossibilism is to the left. Ideologically, the Farmer-Labor Party represents the producers of the United States. It is neither to the right nor the left. It holds the center. Time will prove this to be correct, and that time is not far in the future.

Welding together the farmers and wage workers into a practical political movement has proceeded and progressed faster and farther in some states than in Illinois. There is no doubt, however, that the success attained in other states affects our prospects for greater growth. The stimulus given the movement by its success elsewhere is reflected and registered all about us.

Are we of the rank and file, are you as leaders, big enough for our job? Have we sufficient creative ability and loyalty to seize the opportunity which is provided? We talk of "rank and file" organization, the need of one and the hope in one. So be it, but I observe the fate of a rank and file movement, whether without leaders or with an incapable or unprincipled leadership. In either case, the fate of the flock, the herd, or rank and file, is at the mercy of the wolves, whether these wolves be pretenders within or despoilers without.

We, of the rank and file, need leadership with creative ability, energy and integrity, whether all of us want it or not. We need trained leadership. Our economic and educational organizations are our training schools through which the rank and file pass—some into leadership.

We have a name and the beginnings of an organization, together with an impregnable position politically and economically. Capitalizing these depends on whether we have leaders able to do it. Membership on the various committees of the party organization is to some extent a test. The secretary ought to be a political dynamo, but alone and unaided he can do little.

As secretary of the party for the past two and a half years, my conduct has been based on the following conceptions, as well as on that which has been previously stated in this report:

1. The Farmer-Labor Party is a citizen movement, which proposes to employ the political power of the farmers and laborers, in conjunction with the political support of such other elements as may be induced to join forces with it.

2. The organized labor movement is a contributing element which seeks to influence this political movement without intending to dominate it.

3. This is a political organization that interests itself with immediately pressing problems, and in which the internal affairs of economic groupings have no right or place.

4. This movement is primarily one which seeks to relate essential productive factors to the national life and secure for them the recognition to which their importance entitles them. It takes cognizance of and will endeavor to advance the interests of every group, organized and unorganized, rural and urban.

Uncompromising adherence to this policy has brought me into conflict with persons who dominate, or who aspire to dominate, the movement.

Information relative to the plans and program to be followed by delegates of the Farmer-Labor Party to the National Convention held July 3rd was not available. Therefore, in order that the Farmer-Labor Party delegates might be prepared to intelligently function in the Party's behalf, and for the purposes of presenting a Party front without division, if possible, the Cook County Branch (after holding a special conference for the purpose of discussing the plans and purposes and program of the National Convention) requested that the state Party call a conference of delegates of the Illinois Party who were to attend the National Convention, for the purpose of defining their policies and outlining plans to be pursued in the national convention, and to invite the delegates from other state Farmer-Labor Party groups to participate.

The State Secretary called such a conference. This was held Monday evening, July 2nd, in Chicago. State Chairman Frank A. Leven presided. Mr. Leven stated the purpose of the meeting and called upon members of the National Committee who were present to give us information on organizational details of the convention to be held beginning July 3rd. Robert M. Buck, a member of the National Executive Committee, read the following, which, it was stated, covered the action of the National Committee at its meeting that afternoon:

"The Farmer-Labor Party is the proper vehicle for united independent political action by the working class. The time is even more ripe for development of a party by, for and of city and rural workers than when our party was organized four years ago. Therefore an active campaign should be made for affiliation of unions and farmer groups directly with our party and, at the conference, such organizations should be urged to join with our movement on such terms as may be capable of development.

With national political parties the situation is somewhat different. It seems obvious that they cannot, not because of any limitation by the Farmer-Labor Party, but in the nature of their own structure and purposes, affiliate with the Farmer-Labor Party on the same basis as can unions, farm organizations and political parties of local or only state-wide character.

Moreover, since two of the working class political parties, namely the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, have elected not to participate in the conference, it would



## PROCEEDINGS OF FIFTH STATE CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

seem to be the part of wisdom, before coming to a definite agreement, to make further efforts to get these parties to agree to a plan of federation before final action is taken.

Therefore it might be suggested to the conference that it consider whether the Farmer-Labor Party is the proper agency for such a federation of parties, as well as economic organizations and, if so, that the conference make such a declaration and request each party represented to appoint a committee to engage at once in efforts to bring about meetings with like committees from parties not represented, in the hope that all working class parties may be brought into a general federation in the near future, at least sufficiently early to admit of united action in the 1924 national campaign."

The course followed in the organization and conduct of the convention was directly opposite to the plan the caucus called by the Illinois Party had been informed by the National Committee would be followed. When it became apparent that the leadership of the convention had passed out of the hands of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States, a caucus of Illinois delegates was called, to which those representing the Illinois Party and delegates from affiliated unions were entitled to a voice and vote. Provision was made for visitors to sit in the room, but without voice or vote.

The caucus adopted a motion which empowered a committee to draft a resolution, which was later adopted by the caucus, instructing the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois, unless the National Committee acted, to call upon all other national and state groups represented in the conference to join with it for the purpose of reorganizing the national Farmer-Labor Party along lines consistent with our principles and the fundamental basis of a truly constructive political party of the producers, that is: political and industrial democracy.

A committee consisting of Wm. E. Rodriguez, John Fitzpatrick, Gifford Ernest, Lillian Herstein and Madge Argo, was appointed, to secure mutual action with like committees of other groups in harmony with the Party's principles, such as the Progressive Party of Idaho, Nebraska, Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, and the Wisconsin Nonpartisan League.

This committee was authorized to get in touch with the National Committee and request them to set a time certain for a National Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party in which none but representatives of the Farmer-Labor Party organizations and other organizations affiliated with the Party should sit, and that, in case the National Farmer-Labor Party officers did not set a time to call a convention, the committee was authorized to represent the Farmer-Labor Party in calling the convention.

A convention of the Farmer-Labor Party was secured by the above action, with the result that the National Convention terminated as it did, when the gesture made to unite divergent political groups gave birth to one additional group. (It begins to look as if the surest way to increase the number of working class political groups is to try to unite them.)

The action taken by the Illinois Branch of the Party has met with the approval of practically all, except, of course, those who set out to capture the Party's name, its prestige, and its record of honest dealing with the labor movement. Those who were disappointed over the outcome of the July convention have since been bent upon attacking and destroying both the Party and those whom they could not attach to their new movement, born of the abortion by a Caesarean operation. They attack only those who stood and stand in the way of the thing which would have destroyed the Party's record of fair dealing with the labor movement.

Now that, happily, as a result of the recent national conference, a definite line of demarcation has been established between the Farmer-Labor Party and those "revolutionary" elements who would proceed upon the principle that "might makes right," the liberty loving, law-abiding farmer who has been so grievously exploited, can fully realize that the Farmer-Labor Party is the only available vehicle by which he can travel over the highway of orderly, constitutional processes to the goal of economic betterment. On the one hand, he knows there is

no hope for him in either of the old parties, and on the other, he has hesitated to align himself with any group of whose sturdy patriotism he has had an inkling of doubt. Exhibited, as he has been, by Big Business through the old parties, he yet has felt a repugnance to joining any movement that held the slightest taint or suspicion of the methods of Red Revolution.

The July conference has removed the Farmer-Labor Party definitely and finally from any such suspicion, and he now knows that he can join consistently in our movement to wrest from the predatory interests control of our lawmaking, law-construing and law-enforcing machinery, without violence or destruction, and without overturning those established American institutions which he and generations before him have held in reverence.

The need of the movement, then, is organization. We should send among the farmers men who know the farmers' problems, men who realize that, were the farmer to reckon production costs by the methods of Big Business, were he to make suitable allowances for adequate salary, for himself, for overhead, depreciation, rent, interest, taxes, and all the modern "cost" devices by which the business interests boost their prices, he would be losing money every day, and that his losses would increase with the acreage he tilled.

At the same time, the men we choose for this work should be men with the trade union viewpoint, who will be able to disabuse the minds of many farmers of those prejudices against the organized workers so carefully and persistently inculcated by the subsidized commercial press. In other words, we need men who know and feel the real community of interest that exists between the city worker and the tiller of the soil.

To this end, I suggest the method of organization so successfully carried on by the Nonpartisan League. It might be suggested, in opposition to this, that the Nonpartisan League has been only temporarily successful, but this is due to the fact that its plan of procedure after organization was fundamentally unsound. It required those who joined it to pose as members of political parties whose antecedents, whose national platforms, whose principles and practices, were repugnant to them. They were required to act as members of one of the old parties in one state or one city and of the other party in another locality. They were required, virtually, to be Democrats today and Republicans tomorrow; while **the Farmer-Labor Party offers them a political home of their own.**

With the farmers organized, we need have no fear of those city workers who yet remain aloof from our movement. All that has retarded them has been a lingering doubt of the possibility of success. The knowledge that the farmer is ready to join hands with the industrial worker will give them new courage born of consciousness of power. Knowing that they, also, have no means of relief from intolerable conditions except through our program, they will join us en masse, and the political and economic progress of the producers will go forward with greater impetus.

I, therefore, suggest that the State Executive Committee be given instructions immediately to secure organizers and inaugurate an organizing campaign throughout the state, and that a financial agent, with necessary assistants, be appointed for every county in the state, to secure funds for organizing purposes by personal solicitation, and by appeals to individuals, local unions, and other organizations, all assistants to report to the county agent and he to report to the state office, the details to be worked out and the work performed under direction of the State Executive Committee.

I have information that many farmers and city workers who, in the past, have endeavored to secure redress of grievances through the old parties now are abandoning that policy and are more than ready to go along with our movement. Results in Minnesota have demonstrated what militant action by those exploited elements, acting co-operatively, can accomplish. A few years ago these two elements were practically hostile groups, through lack of a medium through which a common understanding might be reached. Each was indifferent to and even at times opposed to measures for the relief of the other. This resulted from mutual prejudices engendered by the commercial in-



# PROCEEDINGS OF FIFTH STATE CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

terests through the subsidized press. But no sooner had there been provided a common meeting ground than they met and reached a common understanding, and the fatal prejudices which for so many years had kept them apart were swept away. In Minnesota they elected two members of the United States Senate and became the dominant party of the state.

With the results already noted in Minnesota, with the other states already organized or now in process of organization, and with Illinois organized as it should be and can and shall be, we will have the political nucleus of a national movement that quickly will become the dominant political factor in the United States.

In view of the fact that next year there is to be held a general state and national election, I recommend that this body go on record for a special nominating convention to be held at a time set by this convention or that the Executive Committee be authorized to call such a convention at a time to be determined upon by the committee. The next regular convention would come just previous to the holding of the State Federation of Labor Convention, which would be too late for participating in the campaign for the state ticket.

In order that there may be in readiness a platform for consideration by this nominating convention, I further recommend a standing Platform Committee, instructed to organize itself, each member of the committee to cover some stated phase of the platform, if this is deemed desirable and practical.

I further recommend that this convention take special action on the matter of providing the Party with adequate financial support. To this end, I suggest that the Executive Committee be instructed to appoint either from its membership, or otherwise, a committee on Finance, the work of which will not terminate until the close of the term for which they will be elected here. Such a committee should be made responsible for supplying the Party with funds more adequate to its needs. It is evident that an executive officer of the Party cannot do constructive work without the co-operation of the Party in providing ways and means for activities. The duties of the Finance Committee should be entirely and only that of providing funds for the treasury.

Owing to the fact that our position on the ballot is to be secured by independent petition in the campaign of 1924, and to protect our party name from being pilfered, by order of the Executive Committee, I had the party incorporated as a corporation not for profit.

In making preparation and plans for this convention, I asked for suggestions and assistance on the part of the Executive Committee. In addition thereto, I have given diligent and careful attention to preparing for a convention of merit and great interest. I take great pleasure in the fact that the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois is to have the honor of entertaining the first United States Senator elected on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket—Henrik Shipstead, who will be our guest and convention orator at a massmeeting to be held Sunday in this city. After many attempts by many other groups to secure Senator Shipstead, I feel personally gratified in having been able to present to you the fruits of my effort in bringing him to our great state. I trust that every delegate here will make it his and her pleasurable duty to assist in the making of the mass meeting to be held tomorrow a great success and a step toward the ultimate political triumph of the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois.

Aside from the many victories won in local spring elections, in townships, towns and cities, in Illinois, one of the greatest victories which our Party helped to win, was the defeat of the proposed new state constitution at the special election held last fall, on December 12th. It isn't too much to say that the Farmer-Labor Party started the campaign which lead to the rejection of the proposed constitution. This was done by the party waging an energetic campaign for the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention on a platform, the principles of which were the argument used in defeating the draft when it was submitted to the voters. The educational effect of our state-wide campaign in the fall of 1919 was such as to bring about, through the leadership of the Illinois State Federation of La-

bor, a campaign last fall which effectively defeated the interests which, in the recent session of the Illinois legislature, caused the producers of our state so much worry and trouble in the presentation of bills which consumed the energy and time of our citizenship, in securing their defeat.

The News Letter of the State Federation of Labor of June 23, 1923, states that scarcely a bill of any consequence was discussed in the Illinois Legislature without devoting most of the argument to the consideration of what interpretation some judge might place upon the language of the bill in case it should be passed, or whether the courts might or might not declare it to be invalid. It is evident that the greater portion of our time, energy and money is being spent to secure the defeat of proposed legislation inimical to labor's interests instead of constructive legislation in the interests of our common welfare. The problem of legislation, the News Letter further states, is becoming increasingly difficult because the will of the people may no longer be fully expressed through the regular legislative body. We have to get our satisfaction through the dangerous bills we defeat, rather than through the bills enacted. How long will the farmers and wage workers of Illinois pursue this negative, expensive and ineffective course?

What is being done in other states, can and MUST BE DONE in this state. The development of confidence, the laying of plans, the drafting of programs, is work for this convention, to the end that Illinois join the ranks with Minnesota and other states where independent political movements have attained the position of second party with strong prospects of being the dominant party in the next campaign. A strong national movement is necessary to give virility, hope and victory, by combining or co-ordinating the activities of the various state movements in a national campaign.

(Signed) GIFFORD ERNEST,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate Polston moved that the report of the secretary be turned over to the Committee on Officers' Reports, that committee to work in conjunction with the Committee on Organization. Seconded.

Amendment offered and seconded, and accepted as part of the original motion, that the Committee on Officers' Reports be instructed to retire immediately. Motion carried.

Delegate Leheney asked the chair for an interpretation of the motion and the chair ruled that the committee would first report to the convention, making such recommendations as it deemed necessary and referring portions to Committee on Organization, etc.

## REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Report of Auditing Committee was read by Delegate James Cahill, as follows: Delegate Bisser moved that the report be accepted and made part of the record. Seconded and carried.

### Accounts Outstanding as of September 1, 1923:

Jacobson Printing Co.....	\$ 90.25
Tom Tippet ..... 170.00	
Federated Press ..... 25.00	
George Wiley ..... 7.40	
Wm. E. Rodriguez ..... 22.66	
Gertrude Fitzgerald ..... 19.42	
Joseph A. Rogers..... 15.00	
George McNeely ..... 2.80	
Frank J. Esper..... 84.55	
Gifford Ernest (salary account).....	160.00
Gifford Ernest (money advanced for postage for convention call).....	32.00
Gifford Ernest (money advanced for traveling expenses for organizer)...	40.00
McGregor Paper Co.....	6.19

\$675.27

Gifford Ernest (account previously cancelled)—in campaign for 1920—\$89.00.



# PROCEEDINGS OF FIFTH STATE CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

## REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

(For period from October 1, 1922, to and including August 31, 1923.)

### Receipts:

Donations .....	\$ 224.15
Per Capita Tax.....	1,597.79
Dues Books and Stamps.....	171.60
Traveling Expenses .....	213.84
Convention Fees .....	320.00
Miscellaneous .....	249.85
Pledges .....	170.00
Literature and Buttons.....	49.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,996.23

### Expenditures:

Salaries .....	\$1,771.07
Postage and Petty Cash.....	85.92
Rent, Office Expenses & Supplies	236.34
Printing and Literature.....	218.25
Dues Books and Stamps.....	44.78
Traveling Expenses .....	264.78
Per Capita Tax.....	104.96
Miscellaneous .....	254.46
	<hr/>
	\$2,980.56

### Recapitulation:

Balance on hand October 1, 1922..	\$ 62.35
Receipts from October 1, 1922, to and including August 31, 1923.	2,996.23
	<hr/>
	\$3,058.58
Disbursements from October 1, 1922, to and including August 31, 1923 .....	\$2,980.56
Balance on hand September 1, 1923 .....	78.02
	<hr/>
	\$3,058.58

Audited and found correct, Tuesday, Sept. 4, 1923.

FRANK A. THEIS.  
JAMES M. CAHILL.  
GEO. W. WHITEHEAD.

## REPORT OF ELECTION COMMITTEE ON RULES

Delegate Hayman presented report of the Election Committee on Rules, which was adopted as read. The report follows:

We hereby wish to recommend the following rules governing the nominations and election:

Sec. 1—That nominations take place on the afternoon of the first day's session (September 8th).

Sec. 2—That after nominations are closed they cannot be reopened, except by a majority vote of the convention.

Sec. 3—Election to be held on the morning of the second day's session.

Any changes or additions to be subject to the delegates.

(Signed) CHAS. HAYMAN,  
MRS. P. J. CARLSON,  
H. A. COX,  
JENNIE W. BUCK.

While waiting for reports of committees and for the time for nominations for officers to arrive, Delegate S. D. Wham, a "dirt" farmer from Cartter, Illinois, gave a short address, which was greatly enjoyed by all the delegates.

## NOMINATIONS FOR PARTY OFFICERS

The time for nominations having arrived, the Secretary read section of constitution regarding election of officers. The chair then called for nominations for

STATE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Wills placed in nomination the name of Frank A. Leven, incumbent, Danville. Delegates Polston and Rodriguez seconded the nomination. No further names being presented, nominations were declared closed.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Delegate Leheney placed in nomination the name of John Fitzpatrick, Chicago.

Delegate Wills placed in nomination the name of Mrs. Dora Nordboe, Chicago.

Delegate McElroy Trout nominated Ruby Huber Ernest, Chicago, whose nomination was seconded by Delegate Olinger.

There being no further nominations, nominations were declared closed.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: The following were nominated for membership on the State Executive Committee:

Charles F. Wills, Chicago.  
Jacob Bollman, Belleville.  
W. Thos. Polston, Chicago.  
Arthur Olsen, Chicago.  
Robert M. Buck, Chicago.  
James M. Cahill, Chicago.  
Charles Hagen, Mount Olive.  
A. D. Sullens, Benton.  
David A. McVey, Chicago.  
Wm. E. Rodriguez, Chicago.  
Dora Nordboe, Chicago.  
Madge Argo, Joliet.  
Thos. G. McCabe, Chicago.  
Mrs. P. J. Carlson, Rock Island.  
S. D. Wham, Cartter.  
Eulalia E. Burke, Chicago.  
Wm. Tracy, Lansing.  
J. W. Ford, Herrin.  
Gertrude Fitzgerald, Chicago.  
Julia Lordan, Centralia.  
McElroy Trout, Johnston City.  
Otis Clark, Herrin.  
Marian Fuller, Chicago.  
Adelaide Bieser, Centralia.  
J. T. Lloyd, Coulterville.  
Bert Gray, Collinsville.  
James W. Short, East St. Louis.  
J. J. Uhlmann, Chicago.  
Josephine M. Lovreglio, Chicago.  
Alex. Reese, Sr., Central City.  
Tim Spain, Chicago.

Theodore Bisser of Quincy and Frank Theis of Chicago were also nominated but declined. There being no further names presented, nominations were declared closed.

## AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The following were placed in nomination for Auditing Committee:

James Cahill, Chicago.  
Lewis P. Hill, Chicago.  
Frank A. Theis, Chicago.  
Anthony Koselke, Lansing.  
Glenn Campbell, Chicago.  
W. Thos. Polston, Chicago.  
A. M. Corazza, Taylor Springs.  
C. T. Reummler, Benton.  
Hattie Hayman, Chicago.  
Fred Pittman, Johnston City.

There being no further nominations, nominations were declared closed.

At 5 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned, to reconvene at 7 o'clock.

## FIRST DAY—Evening Session

Chairman Leven called the convention to order, and a supplemental report of the Credentials Committee was read and accepted.

Thomas Kelly, Vice-President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, addressed the convention on the matter of the unorganized condition of the barber shops in Decatur and asked the delegates to patronize only union barber shops. He also told of the "open shop" fight at Streator.

Delegate Brown moved that a collection be taken up for the benefit of the men on strike in Streator, to be turned over to Victor A. Olander, Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Seconded and carried. (Note: This collection amounted to \$77.27.)

Thos. G. McCabe, of Painters' Union No. 180, addressed the convention in behalf of Theodore J. Vind, of South Chicago, who was framed on during the steel strike in



1919. Delegate McCabe's address intensified the feeling in behalf of Brother Vind.

Delegate Piatt of Herrin spoke on the union label, and the Herrin situation.

Delegate Madge Argo, of Joliet, told of the effort to organize the hotel and restaurant employes of Decatur. She deplored the fact that a labor convention should have

been held in Decatur while there are so many trades yet unorganized.

Motion made and carried that the mass meeting to be held for Senator Shipstead be held Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock.

The convention then adjourned to meet the following morning at nine o'clock.

## SECOND DAY—Morning Session

Convention called to order by Chairman Leven.

Delegate Buck, of Chicago, asked for the floor on a question of personal privilege to reply to a newspaper story that appeared in the Decatur Herald, which he claimed contained misrepresentations which justified taking the time of the convention on a question of personal privilege.

After Delegate Buck had spoken for some time, Delegate Ernest raised a point of order on the ground that the question of personal privilege to answer a newspaper article was an infringement on the rights and time of the convention.

The chair ruled that the point of order raised by Delegate Ernest was not well taken, for the reason that Delegate Buck arose to this question of personal privilege and explained it, and that in justice to him or anyone else who had been mentioned in any lies of this nature, he should be given the privilege of the floor.

Delegate Buck then continued. Delegate Ernest again raised the same point of order and insisted that Delegate Buck had not the right to take the time of the convention to answer a newspaper story and tell the story of the National Convention. He appealed from the previous decision of the chair.

Delegate Wills raised a point of order that Delegate Ernest was taking his time to further assail Brother Buck. The chair ruled that the delegates should make their remarks as brief as possible, but that Delegate Ernest was within his rights, having raised the point of order.

Vice-Chairman Wm. Tracy took the chair during the appeal. Brother Leven then explained his ruling.

Vote was taken on the appeal, which resulted as follows: Forty-nine to sustain the chair; 67 to overrule the chair. Vice-Chairman Tracy then ruled that the point of order of Delegate Ernest was well taken.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Report was made by Delegate Wm. A. Lewis, and each resolution taken up seriatim:

RESOLUTION No. 1—Submitted by Delegates Josephine M. Lovreglio, Hattie Hayman and Jennie W. Buck:

WHEREAS, our economic system is productive of grave and serious results as it affects the womanhood and childhood of our country; and

WHEREAS, the women of the United States are aroused now as never before because of the Supreme Court decision declaring the Child Labor Law invalid, the minimum wage law, the concerted attack upon the Women's Bureau, the recent defeat of the Women's eight-hour bill in Illinois; and

WHEREAS, a great struggle in the garment industry, in which so many women

are employed, is going on against one of the most vicious injunctions ever issued; and

WHEREAS, there are twelve million women in industry in the United States, most of whom have received little or no education in economic and political matters and are being exploited; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Farmer-Labor Party declare its sympathy with, and wholehearted support of them in the struggle for themselves and our childhood; and agree to do all in our power to assist in changing the deplorable conditions in which they must live and work; and pledge our co-operation in organizing them economically and politically to the end that emancipation of the womanhood and childhood of our land be accomplished.

Committee recommended concurrence. Motion made and carried that the resolution be adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 2—Submitted by L. B. Strayer:

WHEREAS, it seems that the time has come when our business organizations should be reorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that there shall be no employers or employees, but partners only.

Committee recommended that it be referred to the incoming executive committee for consideration. Committee's recommendation adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 3a—Submitted by Delegates H. L. Green and Theodore Bisser:

RESOLVED, To ask the Illinois State Federation of Labor to pass a resolution demanding of Mr. John H. Walker, its president, a denial or retraction of the published statements concerning him by or as of the Republican Governor Small at the Kankakee convention, August 15, 1923, and in the event of him doing neither to demand his resignation from the presidency of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLUTION No. 3b—Submitted by Delegate H. L. Green:

RESOLVED, The position of John H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, being made ambiguous and uncertain by the publication of the Republicans of Illinois, assembled in convention at the City of Kankakee on the 15th day of August, 1923, motion is hereby made that Mr. John H. Walker be requested to clear this subject matter in a statement to this convention now assembled, and the same to be made public as widely as was that of Kankakee.

Committee recommended nonconcurrence, for the reason that it is contrary to the policy of the Farmer-Labor Party to interfere with or question any activity of a trade unionist acting in an official capacity. Moreover, this question properly comes within the province of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tracy made a powerful speech against the adoption of the resolutions, in which he said that Mr. Walker had been in Streator to help out the brick and clay workers there, and that if the party "got" Walker they would be "getting" the brick and clay workers as well. Delegates Hill, Hartmann and Lewis also spoke in favor of the committee's report.

Motion made and carried that the report be adopted.



## PROCEEDINGS OF FIFTH STATE CONVENTION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

RESOLUTION No. 4—Submitted by Delegate H. L. Green:

RESOLVED, To start at a definite time to get a recorded expression from as many delegates as may wish to give their opinion on our Party name, giving one minute only by the watch and a gavel rap to each, those not speaking being recorded by their silence as giving preferential consent to the present name, Farmer-Labor Party.

Committee recommended non-concurrence. Recommendation adopted.

PLATFORM AND PREAMBLE—Submitted by Delegate H. L. Green in accordance with instructions from the Adams County Branch. Committee recommended that this be referred to Executive Committee and, in case of or when a platform committee is appointed, it be referred to that committee. Committee's recommendation adopted.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORTS

Report was made by Delegate McElroy Trout, as follows:

"The Committee on Officers' Reports. Committeeman Buck dissenting, concurs in the Secretary's report, and instructs its chairman to so report to the convention, together with such reference to other convention committees as was made by the committee.

(Signed) JOHN F. LEHENY, Sec.  
McELROY TROUT, Pres.  
ADELAIDE BIESER,  
GEO. W. WHITEHEAD,  
H. W. OLINGER.

The committee referred the following part of the Secretary's Report to the Committee on Organization:

With the farmers organized, we need have no fear of those city workers who yet remain aloof from our movement. All that has retarded them has been a lingering doubt of the possibility of success. The knowledge that the farmer is ready to join hands with the industrial worker will give them new courage born of consciousness of power. Knowing that they, also, have no means of relief from intolerable conditions except through our program, they will join us en masse, and the political and economic progress of the producers will go forward with greater impetus.

I, therefore, suggest that the State Executive Committee be given instructions immediately to secure organizers and inaugurate an organizing campaign throughout the state, and that a financial agent, with necessary assistants, be appointed for or by every county in the state, to secure funds for organizing purposes by personal solicitation and by appeals to individuals, local unions, and other organizations, all assistants to report to the county agent and he to report to the state office, the details to be worked out and the work performed under direction of the State Executive Committee.

The committee recommended that the following sections be referred to the incoming State Executive Committee:

In view of the fact that next year there is to be held a general state and national election, I recommend that this body go on record for a special nominating convention to be held at a time set by this convention or that the Executive Committee be authorized to call such a convention at a time to be determined upon by the committee. The next regular convention would come just previous to the holding of the State Federation of Labor Convention, which would be too late for participating in the campaign for the state ticket.

In order that there may be in readiness a platform for consideration by this nominating convention a platform, I further recommend a standing Platform Committee, instructed to organize itself, each member of the committee to cover some stated phase of the platform, if this is deemed desirable and practical."

The committee further recommended that the following section on finance be referred to the Committee on Finance:

I further recommend that this convention take special action on the matter of providing the Party with adequate financial support. To this end, I suggest that the Executive Committee be instructed to appoint either from its membership, or otherwise, a committee on Finance, the work of which will not terminate until the close of the term for which they will be elected here. Such a committee should be made responsible for supplying the Party with funds more adequate to its needs. It is evident that an executive officer of the Party cannot do constructive work without the co-operation of the Party in providing ways and means for activities. The duties of the Finance Committee should be entirely and only that of providing funds for the treasury.

Delegate Trout then moved to adopt the report of the committee. Seconded.

Delegate Buck stated that he wishes to present a minority report as follows:

I recommend that these sections of the Secretary's report accusing unnamed persons of attempting to dominate and criticising the National Convention be stricken from the report.

He then moved that the minority report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Rodriguez moved the following as an amendment to the majority report of the Committee, as an addition:

WHEREAS, Recent events, with especial reference to the victories of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, have given renewed hope and encouragement to the Labor, Liberal and Progressive forces throughout the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming State Executive Committee be authorized and directed to take such measures and action as it deems necessary to co-ordinate and to bring about the co-operation of the various state Farmer and Labor groups, with a view to the advancement of the National Farmer-Labor Party, and with especial reference to the Presidential Campaign of 1924.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Buck spoke at length in favor of his minority report, and discussed the national convention. The chair ruled that, in line with a decision of the chair earlier in the session, he could not allow discussion of the national convention to proceed.

Delegate Leheny appealed from the decision of the chair on the ground that he disagreed with the chair's interpretation of the ruling which had been made previously, since the ruling made in the morning was on a question of personal privilege. Delegates Brown and Rodriguez spoke in favor of the appeal. Delegate Rodriguez stated that the only way in which the matter of the minority report could be discussed, also the matters and things which are involved as indicated by the report and by the remarks, would be by discussing the national convention.

Vice-Chairman Tracy took the chair, and, upon vote, the decision of the chairman was not sustained.

Motion made and carried that the rules relative to time for holding election of officers be suspended, and that the election take place at 12:30 o'clock.

Delegate Buck then continued the debate.

Delegate Rodriguez moved that on this question the rules regarding time limit of speakers be suspended, but that no speaker shall be permitted to speak longer than fifteen minutes, also that Delegate Buck's time be terminated in the next five minutes since he had already spoken more than fifteen minutes. Motion carried.

Delegate Buck shortly concluded his remarks.

Delegate Cahill spoke in opposition to the minority report and in favor of the majority report and amendment.



Delegate Wills spoke in favor of the minority report and against the majority report and amendment.

Delegate Leheney spoke in favor of the majority report and amendment and in opposition to the minority report.

Delegate McCabe spoke on the question, and the July Convention.

Delegate Rodriguez moved that the rules be suspended and that the time for discussion of this matter be continued for forty-five minutes. Seconded. Delegate Christopher moved an amendment that the matter be laid over until seven o'clock that evening, inasmuch as the meeting for Senator

Shipstead was to be held at 2:30 o'clock. An amendment to the amendment was offered that the election of officers be postponed until after the discussion on the matter before the house is finished. Seconded. The motion and amendments were carried.

Delegate Rodriguez then took the floor and spoke in opposition to the minority report and in favor of the majority report and his amendment.

Delegate Brown spoke in opposition to the majority report and the amendment and in favor of the minority report.

Motion made, seconded and carried to adjourn until seven o'clock.

## SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9—Afternoon Session

Meeting was called to order in the High School building, at 2:30 o'clock, Chairman Frank A. Leven presiding.

Chairman Leven introduced Delegate H. W. Olinger, of Odin, who spoke briefly but wittily in announcing a collection to defray the expenses of the meeting arranged to hear United States Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota. Collection was taken, totaling \$76.54.

Chairman Leven then introduced Senator Shipstead, who spoke in part as follows:

I want to assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that it is a pleasure for me to come down from Minnesota to be with you for a little while this afternoon, to see so many of the people of Illinois gathered from all parts of the state for the purpose for which you are gathered, and I want to assure you, men and women, that I do not come here with any idea that I can tell you anything new. I possibly thought I could give you a little word of cheer, bring you a little bit of a message from Minnesota, to try and tell you of the things that we have tried to do in Minnesota, and the reason for it, the forces that made it necessary for us to do something and how we tried in our way to best meet those forces.

When I look upon this audience I feel as though I were facing a Minnesota audience. You look like my own people. There is a difference in this audience that I notice, however. Minnesota audiences are composed of about fifty per cent of women. I have always claimed that a man could not accomplish very much, nor a group of men, unless there is a good woman back of him. And I want to tell you, men, if you are going to accomplish anything, if you are going to turn America back to the original purpose for which the American government was founded, I don't think you will go very far unless you have the women help you.

They say that life is one constant change from one thing to another and that inertia and stagnation are a sign of death. We have had some change in Minnesota, in various ways, and I want to tell you about the change we have had.

A good many years ago meetings of this kind were held as this meeting is, by about ninety-nine per cent men and one per cent women, and if you had come to a meeting in those days the chances are that you would have seen about a hundred men and possibly two or three women, the wives of some of those men, and as the men would gather in the front part of the hall to listen to whatever might be the business of the meeting, these two or three women would meet in the back part and a conversation something like this would take place: "Yes, Mary, I'll tell you how to do it. You take so much flour, and so much sugar, and so many eggs. \* \* \*" I cannot recall an accurate recipe, but that was the substance of the conversation. Now, that has all been changed. Last winter we had a convention in Minneapolis of the Women Voters' League, and there were gathered about one thousand women in that auditorium, and with that thousand women came two or three men,

and as the women gathered for the purpose of transacting their business, these two or three men gathered in the back of the hall. A friend of mine, curious to learn what they were talking about, went back there and heard this conversation: "Yes, Jim, I'll tell you how to do it. You take some raisins and some sugar and some yeast. \* \* \*" And so you see, my friends, that there has been a change.

Minnesota is one of the great states of the Union. We have there the raw materials—the iron mines. It is the center of the milling industry of the United States—you might almost say of the world, because it is the "breadbasket" of the world. And all of these industries have built up a political machine. That machine is bi-partisan. The control of the machinery of both political parties is in its hands, and the men and women who produce the wealth of this country were so exploited by that machine that the people of Minnesota arose, as our forefathers did in 1776, in order to obtain political power. The economic organizations of both the farmers and city workers were good but, after a good many years of suffering, we discovered that by political power the control of finances and of transportation—control of the economic life of the people—had been given to those who were using it for the purpose of taking from the producers of wealth more than their share of the produce of the producers' toil. The farmers and city workers learned they were both producers and were in the same boat, and combined their efforts for the purpose of securing political power.

I want to go into some of the reasons for the action that was taken in Minnesota. I don't think these reasons are peculiar to Minnesota—they apply all over the United States. It is the old, old struggle between capital and the producers of wealth. That struggle over the division or disposition of the products of the producers' toil is a very old struggle. It has been, however, very much intensified, due to the tremendous expenses of the war, the tremendous debt incurred, and, as capital pays no taxes as such, it necessarily follows that the producers of wealth must either produce more or they have got to get along with a little bit less.

The Senator here demonstrated the proposition that capital, as such, pays no taxes—that all taxes, of every kind, ultimately are passed on to the consumer.

A lot of people at first began to say that the political problems of the farmers and laborers and economic problems were so entirely different that the two could have nothing in common, because the laborer wants to buy as cheaply as he can and the farmer wants to sell for as high a price as he can. But the people of Minnesota have overcome that idea—the farmers and the working people believe that they are both producers of wealth. And the very interesting thing about it is that the small banker and small business man now are realizing that they are becoming dispossessed of their property, and they have joined hands with the farmer and the working man of the city to secure redress through joint political action.

Our movement has had a long, steady growth. There have been certain things hap-



pen that brought it about—those who exploited the people have helped the movement much more than those who were exploited. In order that the new movement can give better service to society it should be made to function for the people. Unless it can do that, there is no cause for its existence, and then it will die, as it ought to die. If it is for the purpose of office-seeking, then it will die as any organization ought to die.

Issues are becoming more and more paramount before the people, and the old parties are not meeting those issues, and they are not giving an answer to the people. This economic power that was given to those who control the money and credits of this nation by Congress—I want to show how they got that power, and what they used it for, and what has been the effect on the people of America; and then I want to discuss that other power that has been used particularly against labor—the abuse of the injunction power of the courts—in order that I can show you the necessity for political action.

The Senator here, referring to the great change that came all over the United States after the signing of the armistice, told of the propaganda sent out by the Federal Reserve Board, by placards in the post offices and railroad stations of the country, by articles in the newspapers, all telling the same story—all advising farmers and industrialists alike to

extend credits and borrow money. They told the manufacturer that the world would have to come here for fifteen or twenty years to buy goods and they encouraged him to extend his credit and go into debt in order that the world should be supplied. Then, when the order went out to call in the loans, money became very scarce, and the only thing he could do was to dump everything on the market in order to pay at least part of the debt he had been encouraged to incur. And then we had that terrific panic, which started the farmers of the United States on that slippery road down to bankruptcy.

And how did it hit the merchant? He had been encouraged to go into debt and pile up wares on his shelves, and when the agricultural market broke the merchant couldn't sell, and he couldn't pay the bank, and that put him and the small town banker in the same boat with the farmers; and when the retailer could not pay the wholesaler, the wholesaler found himself in the same boat as the farmer, and the small town banker, and so he could not pay the manufacturer, and the manufacturer had to close his factory, and this threw millions of people into the streets. And so the working people of America were thrown out of work. Every branch of industry in the United States was affected.

How do we know who did that? We have testimony to the effect that the order did go out from the Federal Reserve Board. In 1920 I made the charge that this was an artificial panic, brought about by the use of the Federal Reserve Board, and I gave the reasons.

Senator Shipstead here gave the reasons—how Wall Street “gambled at the bank of international politics and lost” how “Wall Street used the Federal Reserve Board as a man would use a gun against another man, for the purpose of taking away his property.” He said, “Money lost in a European gamble by Wall Street, which loaned \$10,000,000,000 after the war, caused the deliberate planning of the greatest money panic the world has seen. The Federal Reserve Board used the very power that had been created to prevent panics in order to create an artificial one and rob the American people of billions of dollars.”

Describing the tremendous, deliberately planned calamity that threatened the farmers of an entire nation with bankruptcy, the Senator continued:

They said that the reason for the fall in the agricultural market was because there was no foreign demand, that Europe could not buy anything, and we were not export-

ing anything. The year the wheat market broke we were told there was no export market. That year we shipped out over three hundred million bushels—a larger amount than we had exported before. In 1923 we exported three times more wheat than in any previous year.

Senator Shipstead then read the following figures covering the pre-war year and 1923:

	Lbs.
Wheat—Pre-war year .....	3,000,000,000
Last year .....	9,000,000,000
Wheat flour—Pre-war year.....	2,000,000,000
Last year .....	2,900,000,000
Corn—Pre-war year .....	2,000,000,000
Last year .....	5,000,000,000
16 chief farm products—	
Pre-war year .....	9,000,000,000
Fiscal year 1923.....	25,000,000,000

showing that we are exporting more now than we ever did before the war, and this propaganda that there is no market is not true, but the American farmer is not getting the benefit of it.

He then declared that the power of the Federal Reserve Board must be abolished—that the people of Minnesota are determined that it shall be done away with.

Going into the question of injunctions in labor disputes, the speaker told of their history and of their origin in a day when the King ruled “by divine right,” and therefore “could do no wrong.” It was one of the privileges as well as duties of the king to settle, disputes between individuals and since he ruled by divine right and could do no wrong, there was no appeal from his decrees. In time, however, the King became so occupied with wild boar hunting and similar demands upon his time that he found it necessary to appoint a Chancellor to render decisions in such disputes, and the Chancellor, acting and rendering his decisions in the name of the King, became known as the “Keeper of the King’s Conscience.” As time passed, and more and more disputes arose it became necessary to appoint more and more Chancellors, more “Keepers of the King’s Conscience,” who rendered their decisions in the name of the King, who could do no wrong, and hence there could be no appeal from their decisions. From this practice arose the courts of equity of the United States, which, however, usually confined themselves to the legitimate purposes of courts of equity until 1898, when the first injunction decree was issued in a labor dispute. From that time this abuse of power has grown until courts issue decrees prohibiting all manner of activities of working people in their struggle for better conditions, all arbitrary rulings, all demonstrations of autocratic power assumed by one man over other men, and all based on the historic fiction that the King—in our own time, the courts—“can do no wrong.” “One of the most necessary things in America today,” the Senator concluded, “is to enact necessary legislation to curb the power of courts of equity to issue injunctions. The use or abuse of this power by courts of equity is government by autocrats and not by law.

“They say that a man can think best on an empty stomach. There were a good many empty stomachs after the war, and so we learned something, and we learned that those who were in control of the government used it to further aid and help special privilege collect the wealth produced by the producers and concentrate it all the time in fewer and fewer hands. And we learned that we had to get control of the government to eliminate special privilege.

“If a new movement is going to liberate the American people, it must have the spirit found among the people of Minnesota. I have seen women in Minnesota—mothers with babes in their arms—acting as chair-



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men of meetings. At one meeting, the woman acting as chairman had a sick baby, and she held it in her arms, walking back and forth on the platform to sooth it as she presided over the meeting.

"We think we are facing a crisis in America, and so the producers in Minnesota have come together for the purpose of taking political action.

"Anyone who has studied a little bit cannot help but feel that Europe is going down. Europe is paying the price for its past crimes. Nations, like individuals, always pay for their mistakes. The thing for us in America is to see to it that we do not permit any more crimes than we can finally pay for, in order that we shall not have to pay with our national life. That, I think, is the spirit of the Farmer-Labor Party movement of Minnesota. I have tried to

give it to you hurriedly. There are very many phases of it, but I have tried to give you this afternoon the spirit of the people of Minnesota, and their determination. They are using the instrument that is called the ballot, bequeathed to us by our forefathers. We can vote to change the government if we see fit to do so. That is what we have started out to do in Minnesota, and I take it that that is what you intend to do here—to restore the government to the people, that America can carry out its historic mission. And if we do not care to do that, we cannot blame any one but ourselves. We hope the Minnesota movement may be of service to America, and I do not think it is vain to hope that it may be an inspiration to the people in other states whose hearts beat with that wonderful spirit which has come into the faces and eyes of the people of Minnesota in the last three or four years."

## SECOND DAY—Evening Session

Called to order by Chairman Leven.

Secretary Ernest took the floor and spoke on his report.

The previous question was moved and carried.

The question fell on the motion to substitute the minority for the majority report and the adoption of the minority report. The motion was lost.

Vote was taken on the amendment to the majority report offered by Delegate Rodriguez. Amendment carried.

Vote was then had on the majority report as amended, which resulted in its being adopted.

### REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

Report was made by Delegate McVey, as follows:

Your committee recommends that we put organizers in the weaker sections of the state for the purpose of establishing branch organizations of the state party on the cent per month per capita basis as recommended by the Rockford Convention; organizers to be selected by the State Executive Board and must be members in good standing of the Farmer-Labor Party.

We further recommend that a monthly pledge card covering a period of one year shall be prepared for presentation to the delegates and others in sympathy with the purposes of our movement, said money to finance organization work as outlined in this resolution.

We further recommend a standing committee on finance to serve from convention to convention.

(Signed) D. A. McVEY, Chicago,  
CHAS. F. WILLS, Chicago,  
EMMA WIENECKE, Rockford,  
JOHN E. GILL, Danville,  
DORA NORDBOE, Chicago,  
J. W. FORD, Herrin,  
ARDELL PATTERSON, Sec.,  
Murphreesboro.

Delegate Wills of this committee stated that it had been decided by his committee to report the following verbally:

That, due to the fact that we have a very fair representation of Labor, and this convention seems to indicate that the movement is interested in building up the Farmer-Labor Party, the committee believes that this would be a very opportune time to get a number of those present who have as yet not become members to join the Farmer-Labor Party. We have membership cards, and we ask the delegates that are here today to stay with the party, not only for today and tonight, but tomorrow and the rest of next week, and that you will come back next year Farmer-Labor Party people, just as you are representing your organization here today.

Motion made and carried that the report be adopted.

### ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

The chair then stated that we would proceed with the election of officers and committees.

Mrs. Dora Nordboe stated that she declined the nomination as candidate for National Committeewoman.

Motion was made and carried that, inasmuch as there was but one candidate for State Chairman, Frank A. Leven be elected by acclamation and the secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for him.

Motion was made and carried that the secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for John Fitzpatrick and Ruby Huber Ernest, as members of the National Committee for the ensuing two years.

The convention then proceeded to elect a State Executive Committee, to be composed of fifteen members, and a State Auditing Committee of three members. Blank ballots were distributed, and the chairman read the names of all nominees twice. Alex. Reese, Sr., Central City, withdrew his name as a candidate for State Executive Committee, and the name of Otis Clark, Herrin, was withdrawn, inasmuch as he was not a delegate and no one could vouch for his willingness to serve. James Cahill, W. Thos. Polston, C. T. Ruemmler and Fred Pittman withdrew these names from the Auditing Committee nominations. Ballots were collected and the Election Committee retired to make count.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION

Report was made by Delegate Bisser, who reported that his committee had gone over the constitution carefully and found no changes necessary at the present time. Motion made and carried that the committee's report be accepted.

Delegate Olinger moved that we extend a vote of thanks to the Decatur papers for their generous write-up of the convention. Seconded. Delegates Leheney and Christopher spoke against the motion, which was laid on the table by vote of the convention.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Report made by Delegate Wilson. He advised that his committee recommended that the section of the Secretary's report which



had been referred to his committee be made a section of the constitution. When it was pointed out that this matter would have to be referred to the Committee on Constitution, the Committee on Organization agreed that this matter be referred to the Executive Committee for immediate action. Said section is as follows:

With the farmers organized, we need have no fear of those city workers who yet remain aloof from our movement. All that has retarded them has been a lingering doubt of the possibility of success. The knowledge that the farmer is ready to join hands with the industrial worker will give them new courage born of consciousness of power. Knowing that they, also, have no means of relief from intolerable conditions except through our program, they will join us en masse, and the political and economic progress of the producers will go forward with greater impetus.

I, therefore, suggest that the State Executive Committee be given instructions immediately to secure organizers and inaugurate an organizing campaign throughout the state, and that a financial agent, with necessary assistants, be appointed for or by every county in the state, to secure funds for organizing purposes by personal solicitation and by appeals to individuals, local unions, and other organizations, all assistants to report to the county agent and he to report to the state office, the details to be worked out and the work performed under direction of the State Executive Committee."

The committee on organization further recommended to the convention that all delegates be instructed to boost our official organ, "The New Majority," and wherever a labor party is formed that at least one member in each locality be selected to keep in touch with The New Majority to report the local news to same in order that all localities may keep in close touch with the work of the party.

Motion made and carried that the report be adopted.

Delegate Hill offered a motion, which was seconded and carried, that the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois tender to United States Senator Shipstead of Minnesota a vote of thanks for his generous address.

The raffle of the two watches was held at this time, it being announced that the holder of the number on the seventh ticket drawn would be awarded the first prize of a 21-Jewel No. 992 Hamilton Gentlemen's Gold Watch, and the holder of the eleventh ticket drawn would be awarded the second prize of a 15-Jewel 14-Karat Gold Case Ladies' Bracelet Watch. A committee of three was appointed to conduct the drawing, composed of Julia Lordan, Adelaide Bieser and Madge Argo. The name on the seventh ticket drawn was that of Joseph Jaros, Jr., Nokomis, Illinois, and that on the eleventh ticket Harry Morgan, Johnston City, Illinois, and the watches were so awarded.

A motion was made by Dr. H. L. Green and seconded by Theodore Bisser, both of Quincy, that the song "America," being educational and giving the best evidence of true and fundamental American sentiment, be recommended for adoption as the legally standard song of these United States of America, and that the Secretary be instructed to carry this on in the essential procedure to accomplishment by the Congress of this country. Carried.

Motion was made and carried that the Executive Committee be instructed to call a nominating convention in 1924 at such time as they deem necessary.

## STATE AUDITING AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES ELECTED

The election committee presented its report on the result of the balloting as follows:

State Executive Committee:	Votes
Charles F. Wills, Chicago.....	47
Jacob Bollman, Belleville.....	103
W. Thos. Polston, Chicago.....	37
Arthur Olsen, Chicago.....	31
Robert M. Buck, Chicago.....	38
James M. Cahill, Chicago.....	96
Charles Hagen, Mount Olive....	50
A. D. Sullens, Benton.....	98
David A. McVey, Chicago.....	64
Wm. E. Rodriguez, Chicago.....	105
Dora Nordboe, Chicago.....	52
Madge Argo, Joliet.....	116
Thos. G. McCabe, Batavia.....	39
Mrs. P. J. Carlson, Rock Island..	112
S. D. Wham, Cartter.....	88
Eulalie E. Burke, Chicago.....	32
Wm. Tracy, Lansing.....	114
J. W. Ford, Herrin.....	67
Gertrude Fitzgerald, Chicago....	36
Julia Lordan, Centralia.....	81
McElroy Trout, Johnston City....	67
Marian Fuller, Chicago.....	75
Adelaide Bieser, Centralia.....	69
J. T. Lloyd, Coulterville.....	75
Bert Gray, Collinsville.....	63
James W. Short, East St. Louis..	85
J. J. Uhlmann, Chicago.....	11
Josephine M. Lovreglio, Chicago.	19
Tim Spain, Chicago.....	8

State Auditing Committee:	Votes
Lewis P. Hill, Chicago.....	46
Frank A. Theis, Chicago.....	72
Anthony Koselke, Lansing.....	87
Glenn Campbell, Chicago.....	43
A. M. Corazza, Taylor Springs...	88
Hattie Hayman, Chicago.....	42

Delegates Jacob Bolman, James M. Cahill, A. D. Sullens, Wm. E. Rodriguez, Madge Argo, Mrs. P. J. Carlson, S. D. Wham, Wm. Tracy, J. W. Ford, Julia Lordan, McElroy Trout, Marian Fuller, Adelaide Bieser, J. T. Lloyd, and James W. Short were declared elected on the State Executive Committee.

Delegates Frank A. Theis, Anthony Koselke and A. M. Corazza were declared elected as the State Auditing Committee for the ensuing year.

(NOTE: When the Executive Committee met next day, Mrs. P. J. Carlson, who was a member of the Committee on Election, advised that an error had been made by the committee in transferring the number of votes from one sheet to another, and, therefore, that David A. McVey was elected instead of McElroy Trout. A recount of the ballots was ordered by the committee, but before this was done Miss Julia Lordan resigned from the committee, stating that by her election Marion County would have three members on the committee, one of whom was a member of her own local union, and that she thought it fair that other sections of the state be represented. By her resignation, McElroy Trout was placed on the committee, and it was then felt that a recount was unnecessary.)

Motion made and carried that the report be adopted.

The Fifth Annual Convention of the Illinois Branch of the Farmer-Labor Party then adjourned sine die.

GIFFORD ERNEST,  
Secretary.